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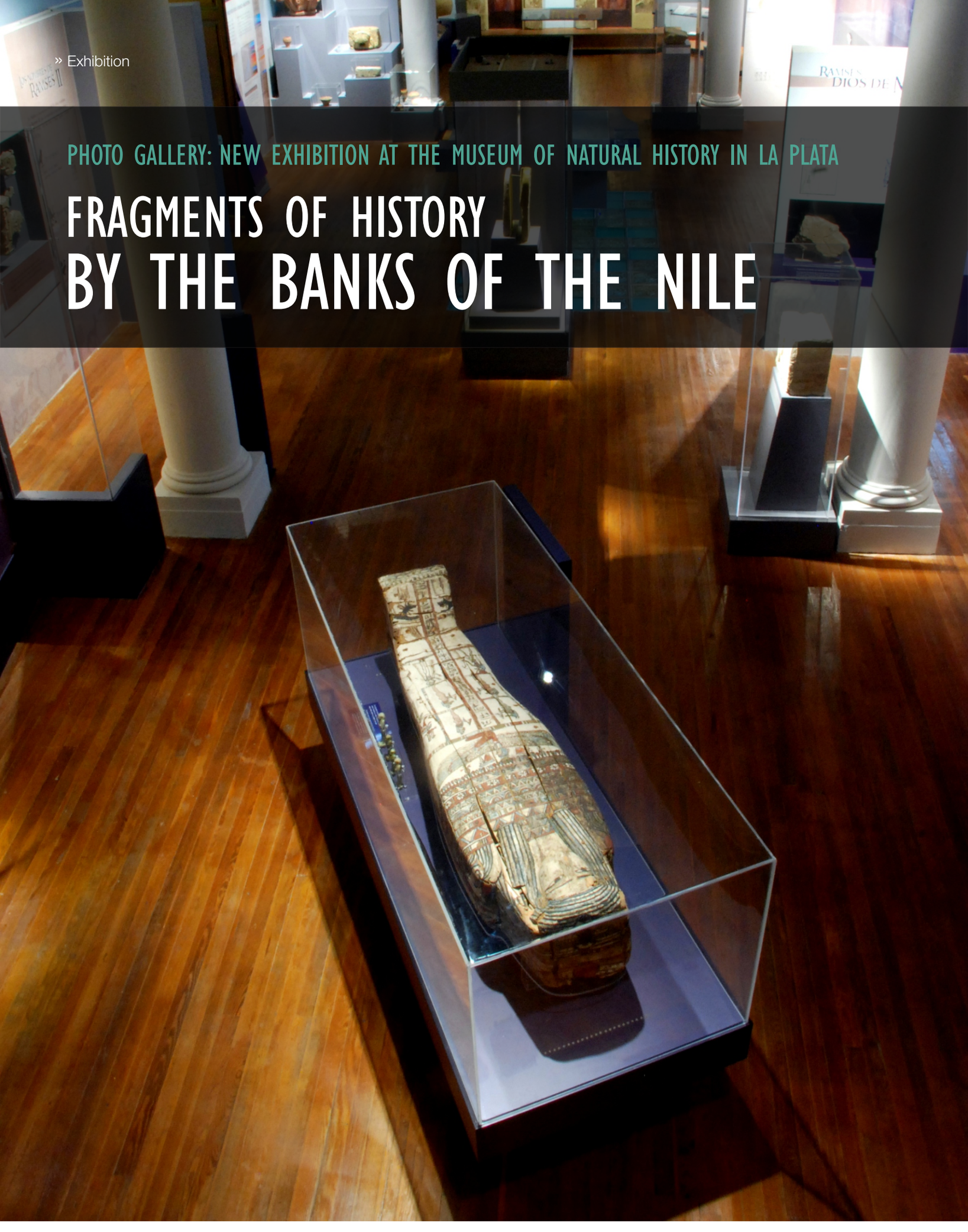
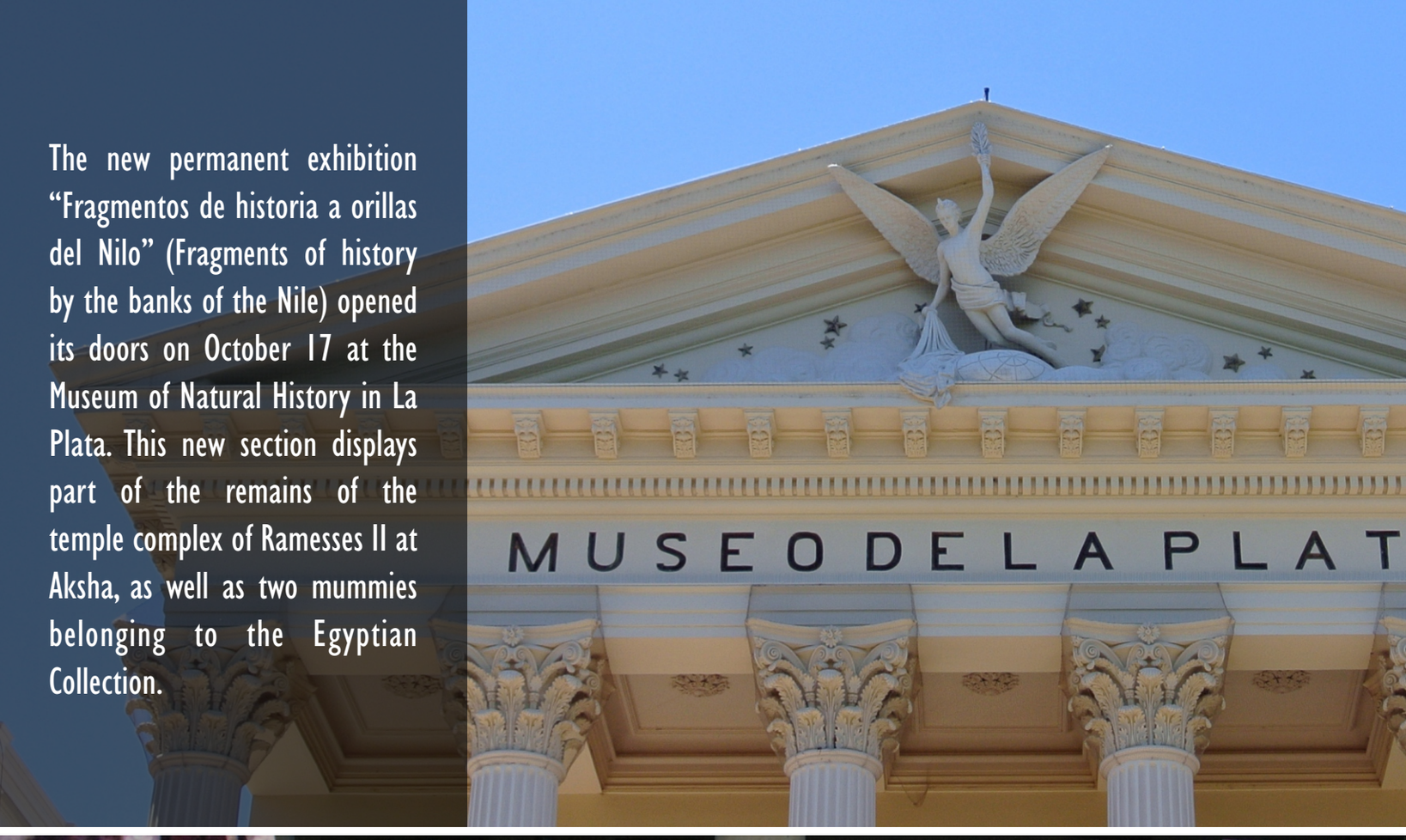
Cover illustration (and p. 2): Decorated Pottery, Naqada IIc (Louvre, Paris) / Photo: Gabana Studios Cairo. Special thanks to Dr. Silvia Ametrano from the Museum of Natural History in La Plata for providing the photographs of the Egyptian Hall.

PHOTO GALLERY: NEW EXHIBITION AT THE MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY IN LA PLATA

FRAGMENTS OF HISTORY BY THE BANKS OF THE NILE

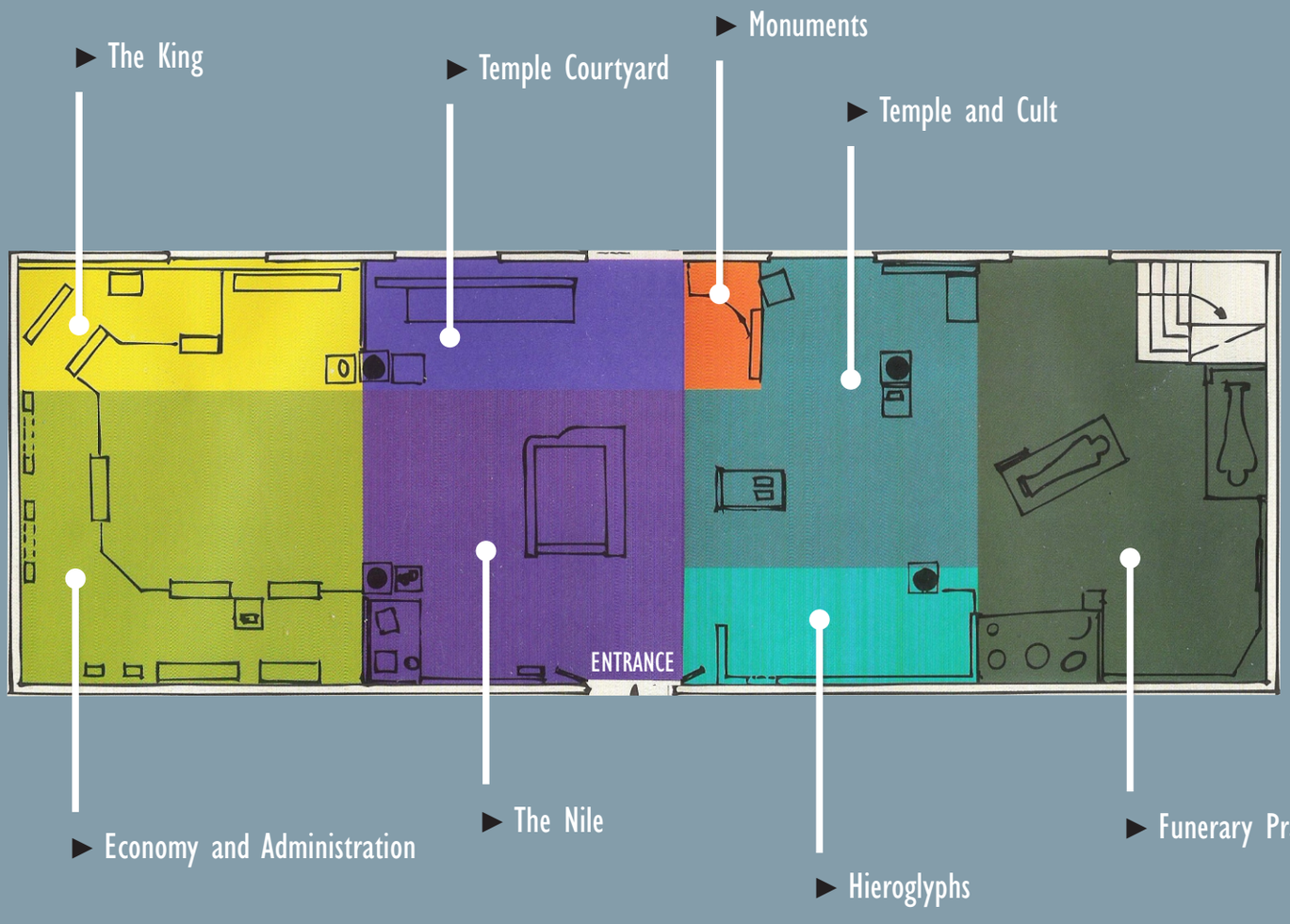


The new permanent exhibition "Fragmentos de historia a orillas del Nilo" (Fragments of history by the banks of the Nile) opened its doors on October 17 at the Museum of Natural History in La Plata. This new section displays part of the remains of the temple complex of Ramesses II at Aksha, as well as two mummies belonging to the Egyptian Collection.



Opening ceremony of the exhibition.

EXHIBITION HALL | FLOOR PLAN



Reliefs from Aksha.

Between 1961 and 1963, the Franco-Argentine mission co-directed by Jean Vercoutter (France) and Abraham Rosenvasser (Argentina) conducted several salvage campaigns in the district of Serra West, Sudan, and unearthed the so-called temple of Aksha. The government of Sudan donated part of the site's remains to Argentina.

The Museum of Natural History houses two mummies from the Late Period (Tadimentet and Herwodj, according to their inscriptions) and one small Ptolemaic mummy, all of them acquired at the end of the 19th century. In 2010, these objects were scanned by computed tomography (CT) at the Dr. Federico Abete Hospital in Malvinas Argentinas, Buenos Aires Province.

Anthropoid coffin of Tadimentet.

- For more information about the new exhibition, see:
  http://www.museo.fcnym.unlp.edu.ar/sobre_la_exposicion
- For more information about the mummies from the Egyptian Collection, see:
  http://www.museo.fcnym.unlp.edu.ar/momias

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AND NEW DIRECTIONS IN NEAR EASTERN PALEOCLIMATE RESEARCH FOR THE LATE 3RD MILLENNIUM BCE

Adam Schneider | Department of Anthropology, University of California-San Diego

Two decades ago, an article published in *Science* by Weiss et al. caused a sensation in Near Eastern archaeology by claiming that an abrupt climate change episode called the "4.2 ka BP event"[1] resulted in a period of severe drought lasting for about two centuries which, they claim, precipitated the collapse of the Akkadian Empire, Old Kingdom Egypt, and the city-states of the Indus Valley.[2] In the twenty years since their argument first appeared, discussions concerning the 4.2 ka BP event and its potential impacts on these early civilizations have become a fixture in the literature of Near Eastern archaeology and Holocene paleoclimatology.[3] However influential the claims by Weiss et al. may be, they remain highly controversial and have been critiqued on several grounds, ranging from inconsistencies in the paleoclimate evidence offered as support for it[4] to claims that the whole notion is simply a form of "black box [environmental] determinism."[5]

The goal of this paper is not to rehash or summarize the ongoing archaeological debate, but to highlight recent advances in our understanding of paleoclimatic conditions during the course of the 3rd millennium BCE that have been made over the last two decades *because* of the debate engendered by hypotheses about the socio-political impact of the 4.2 ka BP event. More specifically, I intend to: 1) review the results of some recent paleoclimatic studies in the Near East for the 3rd millennium; 2) discuss some of the complexities in the climate record that are particularly pertinent to the issue whether climate change induced the collapse of these Near Eastern civilizations; and 3) propose new directions for future paleoenvironmental research in this area that will help to clarify the regional paleoclimate sequence. While it is the case that the existing paleoclimate record betrays a general trend towards greater aridity during the latter half of the millennium, the combination of the lack of pertinent data from large sections of the Near East that are relevant to this debate and inconsistencies within existing local paleoclimate proxy records limit our ability to use the currently available evidence to conclusively establish whether local manifestations of climate change were sufficient to trigger the collapse events well-established in the archaeological record.

I. Paleoclimatic Proxy Data for the Near East in the 3rd Millennium BCE

In general, efforts to reconstruct ancient environments and paleoclimatic regimes are often fraught with difficulties, and this is especially true in the Near East, where the impact of millennia of human activity upon the landscape has almost totally obscured its "natural" paleoecology.[6] Despite this, a considerable collection of paleoclimate proxy data from the Near East has been compiled by scholars over the last two decades. In the interest of brevity, in the discussion that follows I focus solely on a small number of examples of paleoclimate proxy evidence from sources considered to have been only minimally affected by ancient anthropogenic activity, and therefore provide a relatively "pure" signal for climatic conditions in the Near East during the late 3rd millennium BCE.

Anatolia

Much of what we know about late 3rd millennium regional climate for the Near East has been inferred from proxy data obtained via the analysis of lake sediment core samples from Anatolian lakes. The analysis of sediments from samples from Tecer Lake, a small lake in Central Anatolia, for instance, revealed "a sudden rise in gypsum-rich sand input, while other indicators record a lake level drop" at c. 4300 BP.[7] This change in sediment composition was interpreted as evidence of a 450-year long period of severe drought from c. 4350-3900 BP.[8] A similar drop in lake levels c. 4200-4000 BP was also detected by the geochemical analysis of soil sediment samples

from Lake Van in Eastern Anatolia.[9] There, this arid phase was detected by an increase in the ratio of magnesium to calcium (Mg/Ca) in carbonates within the lake sediments dated from ca. 4200-4000 BP (from which an increase in lake salinity that is typical of lower lake levels was inferred), coupled with an increase in oxygen isotope ratios in autochthonous aragonite and calcite, which Wick et al. interpret as evidence of a shift started towards "a more continental climate" and "reduced humidity and lake levels" at Lake Van.[10] A sudden and brief drop in lake level has also recently been reported for Lake Iznik in northwestern Anatolia, which has been associated with increased late 3rd millennium aridity.[11] This brief episode of increased aridity and decreased lake levels appears to have taken place somewhat earlier in northwestern Turkey than in central (Tecer) or eastern (Van) parts of the country. Interestingly, at Iznik, the aridity appears to have been only a temporary interruption contained within a longer humid period that lasted from 4720-3650 BP.[12]

The Southern Levant

Another major source of paleoenvironmental proxy data for reconstructions of Near Eastern paleoclimates is the Southern Levant, an area whose local climate history is better understood than that of most other parts of the Near East. One proxy dataset often cited in discussions of 3rd millennium climate is a 2006 reconstruction of ancient lake levels in the Dead Sea.[13] The results of the Dead Sea study revealed that the Middle-to-Late Holocene was a wet phase characterized by high Dead Sea lake levels from 5400-3500 BP, which was interrupted by an episode of increasing aridity c. 4200-3900 BP.[14]

Additional information about 3rd millennium paleoclimate conditions in the Southern Levant has also been gleaned from stable oxygen isotope ratios recorded within the rock of cave speleothems. A 2011 analysis of stable oxygen isotope ratios obtained from a speleothem in Soreq Cave, Israel,[15] demonstrated a "trend towards aridity that started at 4700 yr BP and reached its maximum at ~4200–4050 yr BP."[16] The stable oxygen isotope data from Soreq therefore appear to partly echo the Dead Sea lake level results insofar as both indicate the onset of a brief dry spell during the late 3rd millennium. However, the Soreq data otherwise differ from the Dead Sea proxy data by indicating that the period of intense aridity was the culmination of an overall trend towards drier conditions which began some five centuries earlier, rather than being a brief climatic interruption within an otherwise wet phase.

The Zagros Mountains

While paleoclimate data from the Southern Levant appear to support the notion of late 3rd millennium aridification, a 2006 stable oxygen isotope analysis of authigenic calcite obtained from the sediments of Lakes Mirabad and Zeribar in the Zagros Mountains of Western Iran[17] complicates the regional paleoclimate record considerably. The results of this study from the other end of the Fertile Crescent provide a stark contrast to the results of the Soreq Cave stable oxygen isotope record. In fact, the oxygen isotope data from Lake Mirabar show a decrease in oxygen heavy isotope values (which is denoted as $\delta^{18}O$) from these calcites from c. 4200-3300 BP,[18] which represents either an overall *increase* in precipitation dating to that time, or possibly "a return [from a spring rainy season] to winter-dominated precipitation" that is characteristic of a Mediterranean, rather than a continental climate—a change which may have had significant impacts on annual discharge rates of the Tigris, but would probably not have significantly affected those of the Euphrates.[19] In any event, from the results of their analysis, the authors conclude that there is "no direct evidence for drought in the Zagros Mountains associated with the Akkadian collapse," (i.e., the 4.2 K BP event), although they do acknowledge that the "relatively coarse stratigraphic resolution" of the Zagros lake sediments they analyzed might obscure a "short, discreet event."[20]

The Southern Arabian Peninsula and the Arabian Sea

Cave speleothems from Qunf Cave in southern Oman have yielded oxygen isotope evidence that appears to indicate a gradual weakening of summer monsoons dating from 7800 BP to the present.[21] This trend is consistent with a reported shift towards drier climates in South Asia, East Africa, and the Arabian Peninsula that continued into the first millennium BCE.[22] Interestingly, evidence of a punctuated episode of aridification dating to the late 3rd millennium BCE is *not* present in the Qunf speleothem isotope record – in fact, the Qunf data indicate "no major abrupt weakening in ISM [i.e., Indian Summer Monsoon] intensity between 5 and 4 ka BP."[23] The lack of evidence for an episode of punctuated late 3rd millennium aridification in the Qunf speleothem isotope record is noteworthy because Staubwasser and Weiss have proposed that changes in the El Niño Southern Oscillation (ENSO), which influences monsoon activity, may have been the catalyst for the 4.2 ka BP event.[24]

While the Qunf Cave speleothem isotope data show no evidence of late 3rd millennium aridification, very clear evidence of an arid episode from that period has been found in marine sediment cores recovered from the Gulf of Oman.[25] This increase in aridity was inferred from a very abrupt intrusion of dolomite and calcite dust in a 400 year sediment sequence dating from c. 4025-3625 BP, which was geochemically identified as having come primarily from Mesopotamia.[26] This fine dust, which was apparently transported to the Indian

Ocean by the northwesterly shamal wind, a perennial feature of the dry summer season in the Near East, is considered to be evidence of extreme drought conditions in Mesopotamia during the late 3rd millennium BCE.[27]

II. Making Sense of Near Eastern 3rd Millennium Paleoclimatic Data and Their Archaeological Implications

Two primary conclusions can be drawn even from this very limited sampling of recent paleoclimate studies. The first is that a clear majority of the paleoclimate proxy evidence not directly obtained from archaeological materials does seem to indicate that some kind of late 3rd millennium aridification appears to have affected much of the Near East. However, this event is not recorded in all proxy datasets. The stable oxygen isotope records from the Lakes Mirabad and Zeribar calcite and the Qunf Cave speleothem stable oxygen isotope sequence, for example, exhibit no evidence of abrupt aridification dating to the late 3rd millennium BCE. Moreover, even among those paleoclimatic sources that do appear to indicate this event, there is considerable variation regarding the timing and duration of this dry spell.

The second conclusion is that there is still a lot we do not understand about the climate dynamics affecting the ancient Near East during the 3rd millennium. Although we can say that it is very likely that drier conditions prevailed in parts of the Near East during this period, because we do not yet fully understand the paleoclimate of the region, we cannot say with certainty whether these data are reflections of a single, punctuated climate event, let alone that such an event can be securely connected with the collapse of the Akkadian Empire, Old Kingdom Egypt, and the Indus Valley civilization. Of course, even if a definitive paleoclimate record for the Near East during the late 3rd millennium were established, this would not necessarily resolve the question of whether climate change caused the various civilizational collapses it has been alleged to have precipitated.

Thus, even if the existence of the hypothesized 4.2 ka BP event was conclusively demonstrated in accordance with the claims made by Weiss et al. regarding the onset of severe droughts, a great deal of additional archaeological research into the implications of that climate change in various regions of the Near East would still be required in order to establish a sound causal link between such a shift in climate and civilizational collapse.

III. Looking Ahead: Prospects for Future Research

During the past two decades, the debate over the role of climate change in the collapse of ancient states and empires during the late 3rd millennium BCE has sparked a resurgence of interest in the Middle-to-Late Holocene paleoclimate record of the Near East. This renewed focus is reflected in the recent publication of a number of important findings which have added to our understanding of the environmental backdrop for the dramatic (and frequently traumatic) events which took place in the region during the late 3rd millennium. The examples cited in this review are merely a small selection of a much wider body of recent paleoclimate research. Even so, this selection suffices to demonstrate the necessity for obtaining additional data, both to try to reconcile apparent inconsistencies between existing sets of Near Eastern paleoclimate proxy data and to "flesh out" the regional paleoclimate sequence by obtaining new proxy data for late 3rd millennium climate conditions in areas of the Near East (such as the Mesopotamian alluvium of central and southern Iraq) which have been comparatively understudied up to now.

The analysis of stable oxygen isotope data extracted from archaeological samples of faunal tooth enamel, a technique which is currently underutilized in Near Eastern archaeology, is a potentially effective method for obtaining much-needed additional paleoclimate proxy data. The analysis of oxygen isotopes in tooth enamel can be used to infer levels of ancient precipitation because oxygen isotope ratios in enamel tissue are linked to ratios in body water,[28] which provides information about the isotopic composition of the groundwater ingested by the animal (provided that the animal is an obligate drinker); this, in turn, reflects oxygen isotope ratios of meteoric water.[29] This technique has proven highly successful as a means of obtaining paleoclimate proxy data in a variety of archaeological and paleoanthropological contexts.[30]

While this technique is still relatively novel in Near Eastern archaeology, some scholars, including myself, are now beginning to implement it in reconstructions of local paleoclimate conditions at Near Eastern archaeological sites. For instance, I am currently employing it in an attempt to reconstruct local 3rd millennium conditions for several Early Bronze Age sites in the Turkish Euphrates Valley. If my project, and others like it, can successfully reconstruct ancient local climates, it may become possible to bring together the combined results from each site to create for the first time a high-resolution map of regional paleoclimate conditions that simultaneously provides evidence of regional trends and local variations over time. By combining these data with the existing archaeological record, and with other new tools which are now available such as complex, GIS-based digital models for both human and natural impacts on ancient landscapes (e.g., Arıkan 2012),[31] it may be possible not only to reconstruct a diachronic map of regional change in climate, but more importantly, to help elucidate the complex relationship between the workings of ancient Near Eastern societies and the natural world which they inhabited across a variety of spatial and temporal scales ■

Notes

1. BP is an abbreviation of "Before Present," with "Present" calibrated to the year 1950 AD. Thus, the date which is given for this event as 4.2 ka BP (i.e., 4200 BP) roughly corresponds to 2250 BCE.

2. H. Weiss, M.-A. Courty, W. Wetterstrom, F. Guichard, L. Senior, R. Meadow and A. Curnow. 1993. "The Genesis and Collapse of Third Millennium North Mesopotamian Civilization." In: *Science* 261 (No. 5124), pp. 995-1004.

3. H.N. Dalfes, G. Kukla and H. Weiss (eds.). 1997. *Third Millennium BC Climate Change and Old World Collapse*. Berlin, Springer Verlag; H. M. Cullen, P. B. deMenocal, S. Hemming, F. H. Brown, T. Guilderson and F. Sirocko. 2000. "Climate Change and the Collapse of the Akkadian Empire: Evidence from the Deep Sea." In: *Geology* 28 (No. 4), pp. 379-382; P. Coombes and K. Barber. 2005. "Environmental Determinism in Holocene Research: Causality or Coincidence?" In: *Area* 37 (No. 3), pp. 303-311; M. Staubwasser and H. Weiss. 2006. "Holocene Climate and Cultural Evolution in Late Prehistoric-Early Historic West Asia." In: *Quaternary Research* 66, pp. 372-387; A. Wossink. 2009. *Challenging Climate Change. Competition and Cooperation among Pastoralists and Agriculturalists in Northern Mesopotamia (c. 3000-1600 BC)*. Leiden, Sidestone Press; J. A. Ur. 2010. "Cycles of Civilization in Northern Mesopotamia, 4400–2000 BC." In: *Journal of Archaeological Research* 18, pp. 387-431.

4. K. W. Butzer. 1997. "Sociopolitical Discontinuity in the Near East, c. 2200 B.C.E.: Scenarios for Palestine and Egypt." In: H. N. Dalfes, G. Kukla and H. Weiss (eds.), *Third Millennium BC Climate Change and Old World Collapse*. Berlin, Springer Verlag, p. 250.

5. P. Coombes and K. Barber. 2005. "Environmental Determinism in Holocene Research: Causality or Coincidence?" In: *Area* 37 (No. 3), p. 304.

6. H. Reculeau. 2011. *Climate, Environment and Agriculture in Assyria*. Wiesbaden, Harrasowitz Verlag, p. 21.

7. C. Kuzucuoğlu, W. Dörfler, S. Kunesch and F. Goupille. 2011. "Mid- to Late-Holocene Climate Change in Central Turkey: The Tecer Lake Record." In: *The Holocene* 21, p. 181.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 184.

9. L. Wick, G. Lemcke and M. Sturm. 2003. "Evidence of Lateglacial and Holocene Climatic Change and Human Impact in Eastern Anatolia: High-Resolution Pollen, Charcoal, Isotopic and Geochemical Records from the Laminated Sediments of Lake Van, Turkey." In: *The Holocene* 13 (No. 5), pp. 665-675.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 673.

11. U. B. Ülgen, S. O. Franz, D. Bilekin, M. N. Çagatay, P. A. Roeser, L. Doner and J. Thein. 2012. "Climatic and Environmental Evolution of Lake Iznik (NW Turkey) over the Last ~4700 Years." In: *Quaternary International* 274, pp. 88-101.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 94-96.

13. C. Migowski, M. Stein, S. Prasad, J. F. W. Negendak and A. Agnon. 2006. "Holocene Climate Variability and Cultural Evolution in the Near East from the Dead Sea Sedimentary Record." In: *Quaternary Research* 66, pp. 421-431.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 426.

15. M. Bar-Matthews and A. Ayalon. 2011. "Mid-Holocene Climate Variations Revealed by High-Resolution Speleothem Records from Soreq Cave, Israel and their Correlation with Cultural Changes." In: *The Holocene* 21 (No. 1), pp. 163-171.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 169.

17. L. R. Stevens, E. Ito, A. Schwalb and H. E. Wright Jr. 2006. "Timing of Atmospheric Precipitation in the Zagros Mountains Inferred from a Multi-Proxy Record from Lake Mirabad, Iran." In: *Quaternary Research* 66, pp. 494-500.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 496.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 499.

20. *Ibid.*

21. D. Fleitmann, S. J. Burns, A. Mangini, M. Mudelsee, J. Kramers, I. Villa, U. Neff, A. A. Al-Subbary, A. Buettner, D. Hippler and A. Matter. 2007. "Holocene ITCZ and Indian Monsoon Dynamics Recorded in Stalagmites from Oman and Yemen (Socotra)." In: *Quaternary Science Reviews* 26, pp. 170-188.

22. P. D. Clift and A. R. Plumb. 2008. *The Asian Monsoon: Causes, History and Effects*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 118.

23. D. Fleitmann, S. J. Burns, A. Mangini, M. Mudelsee, J. Kramers, I. Villa, U. Neff, A. A. Al-Subbary, A. Buettner, D. Hippler and A. Matter. 2007. "Holocene ITCZ and Indian Monsoon Dynamics Recorded in Stalagmites from Oman and Yemen (Socotra)." In: *Quaternary Science Reviews* 26, p. 185.

24. M. Staubwasser and H. Weiss. 2006. "Holocene Climate and Cultural Evolution in Late Prehistoric-Early Historic West Asia." In: *Quaternary Research* 66, p. 383.

25. H. M. Cullen, P. B. deMenocal, S. Hemming, F. H. Brown, T. Guilderson and F. Sirocko. 2000. "Climate Change and the Collapse of the Akkadian Empire: Evidence from the Deep Sea." In: *Geology* 28 (No. 4), pp. 379-382.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 381.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 380.

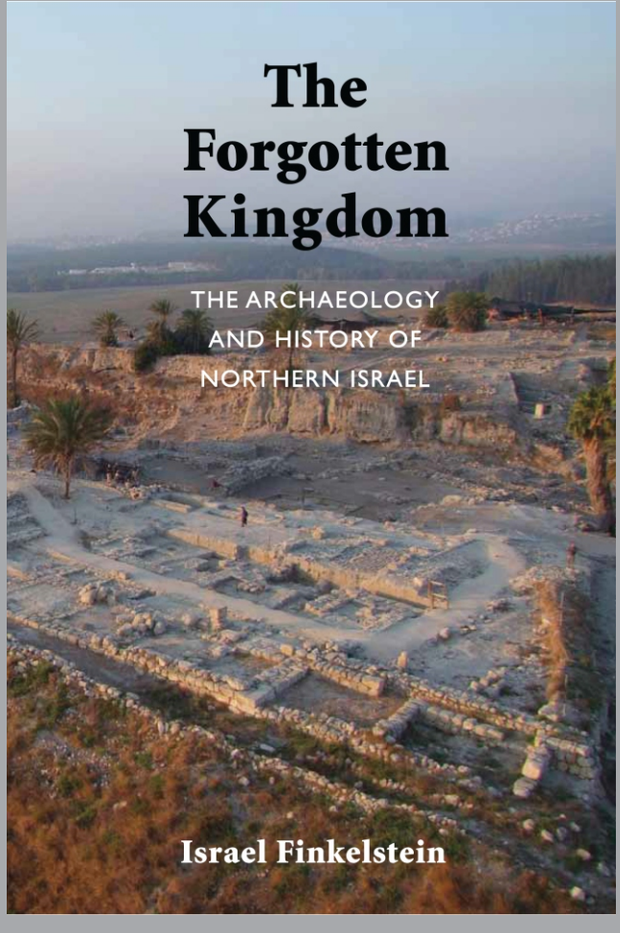
28. A. Longinelli. 1984. "Oxygen Isotopes in Mammal Bone Phosphate: A New Tool for Paleohydrological and Paleoclimatological Research?" In: *Geochimica et Cosmochimica Acta* 48, pp. 385-390.

29. W. Dansgaard. 1964. "Stable Isotopes in Precipitation." In: *Tellus* 16 (No. 4), pp. 436-468; H. C. Fricke and J. R. O'Neil. 1996. "Inter- and Intra-Tooth Variation in the Oxygen Isotope Composition of Mammalian Tooth Enamel Phosphate: Implications for Palaeoclimatological and Palaeobiological Research." In: *Palaeogeography, Palaeoclimatology, Palaeoecology* 126, pp. 91-99.

30. M. J. Schoeninger, H. Reeser and K. Hallin. 2003.

"Paleoenvironment of Australopithecus Anamensis at Allia Bay, East Turkana, Kenya: Evidence from Mammalian Herbivore Enamel Stable Isotopes." In: *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 22, pp. 200-207; S. Sharma, M. M. Joachimski, H. J. Tobschall, I. B. Singh, D. P. Tewari and R. Tewari. 2004. "Oxygen Isotopes of Bovid Teeth as Archives of Paleoclimatic Variations in Archaeological Deposits of the Ganga Plain, India." In: *Quaternary Research* 62, pp. 19-28; K. A. Hallin, M. J. Schoeninger and H. P. Schwarcz. 2012. "Paleoclimate during Neanderthal and Anatomically Modern Human Occupation at Amud and Qafzeh, Israel: The Stable Isotope Data." In: *Journal of Human Evolution* 62, pp. 59-73.

31. B. Arıkan. 2012. "Don't Abhor Your Neighbor for He Is a Pastoralist: The GIS-based Modeling of the Past Human-Environment Interactions and Landscape Changes in the Wadi el-Hasa, West-Central Jordan." In: *Journal of Archaeological Science* 39, pp. 2908-2920.



THE FORGOTTEN KINGDOM
THE ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY OF NORTHERN ISRAEL

Israel Finkelstein

New volume: Ancient Near East Monographs (Vol. 5).
2013. 197 pp. ISBN 978-1-58983-912-0

Although Israel was dominant for most of the time the kingdoms of Israel and Judah coexisted, it has remained in Judah's shadow in the Hebrew Bible and consequently in the attention of modern scholarship. This book presents the first comprehensive history of the northern kingdom and description of the archaeology of northern Israel from the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1350 B.C.E.) until the kingdom's fall in 720 B.C.E. and beyond. It tells the story of the northern kingdom primarily in its formative phases. The narrative is based in archaeology and makes use of the most updated field research, with the addition of what is known from ancient Near Eastern and biblical texts.

Israel Finkelstein is Professor of Archaeology at Tel Aviv University. He has conducted numerous field projects, including excavations at biblical Shiloh and Meggido. He is the author of many books, notably *The Archaeology of the Israelite Settlement* (Israel Exploration Society) and *Living on the Fringe* (Sheffield Academic Press), the co-author, with Neil A. Silberman, of *The Bible Unearthed* and *David and Solomon* (both from Free Press), and was awarded the prestigious Dan David Prize in the Past Dimension in 2005. The French edition of this book was awarded the *Prix Delalande-Guérineau* from the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris, in 2014.

ON HEKANAKHT PAPERS

BRIEF REFLECTIONS AS A HOMAGE TO CIRO CARDOSO (1942-2013)

Augusto Gayubas | University of Buenos Aires / CONICET

On June 29, 2013, historian Ciro Flamarion Cardoso died at the age of 70 in the city of Niterói, Rio de Janeiro. Since the seventies, he has been internationally known for his contribution to historical research and his concerns with the methodological foundations of the historian's work. His major interest was to study historical issues privileging theoretical approaches.

His contribution to the study of ancient Egypt falls within these broader concerns. It is evident in a number of books, theses and articles (e.g., *O Egito Antigo*, 1982; *Trabalho compulsório na antiguidade*, 1984; *Uma interpretaçäo das estruturas econômicas do Egito Faraônico*, 1987; *Sete olhares sobre a antiguidade*, 1994; *Deuses, múmias e ziggurats: uma comparação das religiões antigas do Egito e da Mesopotâmia*, 1999). His work makes him one of those exceptional researchers who incorporate critical theoretical thinking—in his case, of Marxist roots—into the analysis of ancient societies and, in particular, of what we usually call ancient Egypt. A review of Cardoso's egyptological work would require many pages of reference to his multiple contributions. My aim here is somehow different: to simply evoke his memory by considering his interpretation of the so-called "Hekanakht papers."

These documents consist of seven papyri found in 1922 at Deir el-Bahri, Western Thebes,[1] and dated to the Eleventh Dynasty (mid-twentieth century BC). They are divided into five letters and two documents of accounts and records. What is interesting about these papers, published for the first time in 1962,[2] is that they provide most valuable information about the life of Hekanakht, a funerary priest who served the cult of vizier Ipi and wrote several letters to his own family with instructions on how to manage his rural residence and resources in his absence. Hekanakht might be described as the head of a household: he was responsible for the estate, the economic resources (cereals, flax and cattle) and the people who lived there (all of them relatives, except for a trusted married workman and some unmarried female servants).

Among other issues discussed by scholars, it is particularly relevant the question of the economic role of Hekanakht in relation to the general functioning of the ancient Egyptian economy. This has been a controversial issue. With regard to the interpretation of some passages of the letters and accounts, British egyptologist Barry Kemp argued that Hekanakht would have taken economic decisions strictly based on the calculation of profits; this would make him a private economic agent subtracted from the economy of the state.[3]

Cardoso opposes Kemp's "formalist" interpretation to Klaus Baer's "substantivist" one. In a certain way, the first of Baer's statements does not seem far from the formalist stance put forward by Kemp: according to Baer, Hekanakht effectively represents a figure who seeks to accumulate wealth through strategies of maximization of incomes and rationing of family resources in times of scarcity.[4] Nevertheless, what distinguishes Baer from Kemp and justifies the opposition traced by Cardoso is that, for the former, the aim of this private accumulation would not be linked to an economic and acquisitive mentality (as proposed in fact by Kemp, who sees Hekanakht as a specimen of the *homo economicus*). To Baer, Hekanakht's main interest would have been to ensure the resources needed to have a burial proper to his social status.[5]

The position adopted by Cardoso in this debate implies to recognize the existence of economic practices at a local or "private" scale managed by Hekanakht, including calculation strategies for a better administration of the resources, purchases and sales, loaning and leasing of land for cultivation.[6] However, the author points out that this does not imply the existence of a private or market economy *rising* in Egypt, as proposed by Kemp, but: a) a kind of practice that is provisional and "temporary," in the sense that it is specific of a particular period of Egyptian history (i.e., early Middle Kingdom)

which is still influenced by the effects of the political and economic decentralization of the First Intermediate Period; and b) a kind of practice that is not inserted in an economy ruled by the law of supply and demand—even if the head of the household could seek some enrichment (similar discussion with Kemp's arguments can be found in Cardoso's book *Sociedades do Antigo Oriente Próximo*, 1986).[7] These remarks are important because they might be useful to avoid one questionable idea: that the logic of market lies at the basis of any society, waiting for the historical conditions that will allow it to become the dominant economic practice.

Fábio Frizzo, one of Cardoso's young disciples, proposed at an academic event in Buenos Aires in the winter of 2011 (III Coloquio Internacional del PEFSCEA / XXXIV Coloquio Internacional GIREA) that it might be useful to *connect* elements taken from different theoretical schemes whenever they can be *complementary* in addressing a historical problem. I would like to illustrate the potential of this approach by presenting some brief reflections on the issue we are dealing with.

Cardoso characterizes Hekanakht's family group as a "plebeian family," since they had not regular access to the pharaoh's court, and he considers the head of this family as a "small or medium landowner," because he was in charge of a small or medium productive unit above the subsistence level and could not rival the wealth of the state's high-ranking officials. These reflections bring to the fore two main issues that I consider important and that, in my opinion, can be enriched with an approach that *connects* elements from the analysis of different authors.

On the one hand, the "family" structure clearly expresses the role of kinship in the articulation of social and economic relations within the household. Juan Carlos Moreno García points out that in contexts of political decentralization of the state, family cohesion—as well as probable patronage ties—acquire visibility in written records.[8] He associates this situation with the idea that the family group would act as a space of solidarity and protection against possible crisis. Without challenging this consideration, Marcelo Campagno emphasizes the aspect of continuity of kinship as a social logic that, even subordinated to state dynamics, would continue to operate as a means of articulation *within* households.[9] One could also conceive the existence of another kind of social tie, even at a nomarchal level, such as patronage: this specific bond could explain the role of Nakht son of Hety, the above-mentioned "trusted married workman," who was not part of the kinship network but was subordinated to Hekanakht.

The other question arising from Cardoso's reflections is that Hekanakht's estate would not be a family inheritance, but the result of his function as a funerary priest of vizier Ipi. This matter has, in my opinion, an implication that deserves to be pointed out. It is not the kinship tie, nor a "private" economic procedure, what originated Hekanakht's wealth, but a practice associated with the state: that is, Hekanakht's specific relation with a high official of the state. Cardoso appropriately recognizes that Hekanakht had a limited income because he was not directly related to the pharaoh's court; but no less important is the fact that Hekanakht's estate, although modest in relation to the wealth of any high official, only makes sense because of the relationship between this priest and the state. Therefore, Hekanakht papers would be one of those eloquent testimonies which allow us to infer, in terms of Campagno, a "coupling" between the logic of kinship, which here internally regulates the household, and the logic of state, which is the condition of possibility for such a household to exist.[10]

In conclusion, it is my wish that these brief reflections on Cardoso's significant study of the Hekanakht papers may highlight the need to connect and integrate theoretical tools and analysis of different perspectives in addressing specific historical issues from a critical point of view. There is much that could be added in regard to Cardoso's intellectual interventions for the study of ancient Egypt. However, I would like to conclude these lines with a final remark. As Baer wrote about the work of T. G. H. James, who first published Hekanakht papers, we can also say about the contributions of Ciro Cardoso: the only way to express our gratitude is by further discussion ■

Notes

1. H. E. Winlock. 1923. "Hekanakht Writes to His Household." In: *Scribner's Magazine* LXXII (3), pp. 288-296.

2. T. G. H. James. 1962. *The Hekanakhte Papers and Other Early Middle Kingdom Documents*. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition.

3. B. J. Kemp. 1989. *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*. London-New York, Routledge. For a critical review of Kemp's book, see J. J. Janssen. 1992. "Ancient Egypt. Anatomy of a Civilization. By Barry J. Kemp." In: *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 78, pp. 313-317.

4. K. Baer. 1963. "An Eleventh Dynasty Farmer's Letters to His Family." In: *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 83 (1), pp. 1-19.

5. C. F. Cardoso. 2009. "Las unidades domésticas en el Egipto antiguo." In: M. Campagno (ed.), *Parentesco, patronazgo y Estado en las sociedades antiguas*. Buenos Aires, Universidad de Buenos Aires, pp. 87-106.

6. Cardoso's reflections on the Hekanakht papers were stated for the first time in an unpublished thesis presented at the Universidad Federal Fluminense (*Hekanakht: pujança passageira do privado no Egito antigo*, 1993), and later in some articles: C. F. Cardoso. 2003. "Uma casa e uma família no Antigo Egito." In: *Phoînix* 9, pp. 65-97; C. F. Cardoso. 2009. "Las unidades domésticas en el Egipto antiguo." In: M. Campagno (ed.), *Parentesco, patronazgo y Estado en las*

sociedades antiguas. Buenos Aires, Universidad de Buenos Aires, pp. 87-106.

7. B. J. Kemp. 1983. "Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period." In: B. G. Trigger, B. J. Kemp, D. O'Connor and A. B. Lloyd, *Ancient Egypt. A Social History*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 71-182; C. F. Cardoso. 1986. *Sociedades do Antigo Oriente Próximo*. São Paulo, Ática.

8. J. C. Moreno García. 2004. *Egipto en el Imperio Antiguo (2650-2150 antes de Cristo)*. Barcelona, Bellaterra.

9. M. Campagno. 2009. "Parentesco, patronazgo y Estado en las sociedades antiguas: una introducción." In: M. Campagno (ed.), *Parentesco, patronazgo y Estado en las sociedades antiguas*. Buenos Aires, Universidad de Buenos Aires, pp. 7-24.

10. *Ibid*.

* I wish to thank Soledad Barrionuevo for her help in drafting the English version of this paper.

CEHAO NEW MEMBERS

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IN MEMORIAM
GABRIEL NÁPOLE

R. P. Gabriel Nápole OP passed away on December 26, 2013. He was ordained in the Dominican order in 1986, and directed the "Pedro de Córdoba" Institute (Centre for Advanced Studies of the Dominican Order in Latin America and the Caribbean) between 1997 and 2002. He studied at the Catholic University of Argentina (Lic. Theology), the École biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem (Élève titulaire and Diplômé) and the Faculty of Theology "San Vicente Ferrer" in Valencia (PhD Theology). Since 2004, he was in charge of the group of Argentine scholars involved in the project 'La Bible en ses Traditions' from the École biblique. Gabriel had close ties with the CEHAO at both the human and academic levels. He will be sorely missed.

THE BATTLE OF KADESH

EGYPT AND HATTI THROUGH IMAGES AND WORDS

Diana Liesegang | University of Heidelberg

The Battle of Kadesh is the most famous military event in the history of the ancient Near East and one of the most debated historical topics in Egyptology. The monumental iconographic representation of the Battle of Kadesh contains a fascinating combination of images and words, which set a standard for royal self-presentation in the New Kingdom. Ramesses II created a unique iconographic program that includes many important topics of historical and artistic significance.[1] Both image and text cooperate in a very special way in order to present information about this military event.[2]

The might and the power of king Ramesses II are displayed through a combination of written and artistic features: he dominates all the scenes, and his large size makes him the most significant person in the story. His Hittite rival, Muwatalli II, is also presented in a large size and has his own caption, but without his name. The artistic strategy of hierotaxis (i.e., the act of emphasizing something important by displaying it in a large size) is here a method employed to show both kings as rivals and evidently the most important participants of the battle.

The brilliant artistic scenes show the course of the battle, the road followed by the Egyptian army to Kadesh and the terrible attack of the Hittite chariots in the pharaoh's camp. They also present the strategic mistakes made by the Egyptians and the fight with a mighty enemy that seems to be superior in this important moment of the battle. The pictures show the brave struggle of Ramesses II against the Hittite army and the supporting intervention of his elite troop, the Naarin. The presentation of the Hittite army is also extraordinary in the history of ancient Egyptian royal battle reliefs: it is shown by the Egyptian artists as a powerful army, with many soldiers, chariots, weapons and horses. They are standing by the fort of Kadesh in correct order, armed with many weapons, observing the fight and waiting for a sign for the next step of Muwatalli II.

These details evidence a shift in royal propaganda and in the image of the pharaoh. The presentation of Muwatalli II and his army as an equal adversary for Ramesses II and the Egyptian army is a new aspect, as well as the conscious display of the military mistakes made by the Egyptian sovereign. The historical development following the battle of Kadesh confirms the impression of a change in the royal self-presentation of the Egyptian pharaoh and his imperial policy. Ramesses II could not place Egypt as the leading major power in the Near East and accepted the Hittite king as an equal rival. The treaty between Ramesses II and Hatusili III, the brother and successor of Muwatalli II, opened a new door in the relations between Egypt and his international neighbors, and was the basis for a new form of friendly and peaceful contact between the empires.[3]

The combination of image and text in the representation of the Battle of Kadesh is in my opinion a masterpiece of Egyptian art and propaganda, and honors Ramesses II as victor and mighty sovereign. As Sir Alan Gardiner asserted, "Ramesses II's account of his Hittite war is a unique phenomenon in Egyptian literature, perhaps indeed in any literature"[4] ■

Notes

1. T. von der Way. 1984. *Die Textüberlieferung Ramses' II zur Qades-Schlacht: Analyse und Struktur*. Hildesheim, Gerstenberg Verlag.

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3. K. Schmidt. 2002. *Friede durch Vertrag. Der Friedensvertrag von Kadesch von 1270 v. Chr., der Friede des Antalkidas von 386 v. Chr. und der Friedensvertrag zwischen Byzanz und Persien von 562 n. Chr*. Frankfurt, Peter Lang, pp. 24-55.

4. A. Gardiner. 1960. *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 53.

* Dedicated to Gerhard Fecht and Anson F. Rainey.

CEHAO SCHOLARLY PARTICIPATION 2013

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Baltimore, November 20-23, 2013.
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